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Edited by E. Haldeman-Julius

A Short History of the Jews

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CONTENTS

Page

Chapter I. The Origin of the Jews..... 7
Traditions of Origin..... 7
The Land and Its People..... 8
Worship and Customs.....10
The Conquest of Canaan.....12
Chapter II. The Kingdom.....15
Saul's Kingdom in the Hills.....15
The Union of Races Under David.....17
The Empire Under Solomon.....18
The Judean Indictment 20
The Divided Kingdom 23
The Preachers, or Prophets.....24
Chapter III. Under Persia, Greece and Rome..26
The End of the Exile....;.....26
The Greek Domination 28
The Hellenizing of Judea.....29
The Maccabees 30
John Hyrcanus 32
Herod the Great.....33
Chapter IV. The Destruction of Jerusalem...35
The Roman Governors.....35
The Troubled Years 36
Preparations for the War.....39
The Internal Conflicts 41
The Fall of Jerusalem.....42
Chapter V. A Race Scattered East and West..45
"Yet Once Again, O Zion".....45
The Patriarch of the West.....46
The Prince of the Captivity.....49
Under Islam 50
Chapter VI. The Dark Ages.....52
The Golden Age of Judaism.....52
The Iron Age of Judaism.....52
Massacres and Expulsions 54
In Other Lands 56
Chapter VII. The Jews Today.....57
Period of Emancipation.....57
The Mendelssohn Movement.....58
The Zionist Movement 59
Jewish Achievements 59

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE JEWS

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE JEWS

Traditions of Origin.—According to the Torah, or Law of Moses (the first five books of the present Old Testament), Yahweh, the god worshipped by the Hebrews, created the universe, and the first humans, Adam and his wife Eve. Some generations later, repenting of the wickedness of man, Yahweh sent a flood which destroyed all living creatures except a good man Noah and his three sons, their four wives, and a selected representation of all fowls, cattle, beasts, and creeping things. Noah's tenth descendant, Abram, renamed Abraham, lived in Babylonia, in "Ur of the Chaldees." He wandered from this place of his nativity through Canaan, or Palestine, and into Egypt, at the command of his deity; and was promised that he would be made into a great nation. His grandson, Jacob, renamed Israel, had twelve sons, one of whom, Joseph, rose from captivity in Egypt to a position second only to that of the reigning Pharaoh. A famine aided Joseph in removing all of his father's family to Egypt, where they dwelt in honor. Some dynastic change, a few hundred years later, reduced these "children of Israel" to slavery. Out of the slaves came a leader, Moses, who adopted the worship of a god, Yahweh, (usually rendered less accurately as Jehovah), who was served by the Kenite tribe of Midianites living around Mount Sinai. This leader guided their forty years' wandering to the threshold of Pal-

estine, the "promised land"; his warlike successor, Joshua, "left none remaining, and he utterly destroyed all that breathed" among their Canaanite enemies. In spite of this statement in the Book of Joshua, Judges, the next book, opens, "And it came to pass, after the death of Joshua, that the children of Israel asked of Yahweh, saying, Who shall go up for us first against the Canaanites to fight against them? And Yahweh said, Judah shall go up." We learn that this solitary tribe went up first, and captured the hill-country, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley, "because they had chariots of iron." Tribe after tribe goes up—Manasseh, Ephraim, Asher, Naphtali, Dan, with no better success. There is no Hebrew nation yet, no commander-in-chief; each tribe is a unit. Certain local clan-leaders, Othniel, Ehud, Shamgar, Deborah, Gideon, Jephtha, Samson, and Samuel, repel attacks, and rule in broken fashion down to the formation of the little kingdom in the hills under Saul.

The Land and Its People. — Palestine, the rough fertile stretch from Hermon to the desert bordering upon Egypt (the proverbial "Dan to Beersheba") was one of the early "way" states. Its rise to prominence and civilization was not due to its own resources, as was the case with the fertile valley civilizations of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates; it was due to the fact that it lay on the "way" or unmarked road joining these earlier civilizations. Well before 1500 B. C. its advantageous location as a trade center had stimulated the growth of such powers as Phoenicia and the Philistines (whence Palestine). From time to time the land was swept by waves of migration from north and south. Semitic tribes moved up

from Arabia, to seek food, plunder, or release from the pressure of tribes in the rear; tribes moved down for similar causes; and these shepherd or pastoral strangers settled down and amalgamated with the inhabitants so thoroughly that their identity was wholly lost. It is from such fusions as this that the ancestors of the Jews were descended. In the 15th Century B. C., small native princes ruled the land as vassals of Egypt, which, after expelling the Hyksos "Shepherd Kings" from the rich Nile delta, had begun to push its conquests on to the banks of the Euphrates.

In this period of anarchy in Palestine we first read, in the deciphered Amarna and Taanach tablets found in Palestine, of the restless *Habiru*, a name which is commonly identified with the Hebrews. They had ties of common blood with their neighbors; the Old Testament frequently corroborates this, by deriving their neighbors from some lapse from morality of a Hebrew. In spite of the spirited beauty of the tale of Joseph and his brethren, the names of the twelve tribal ancestors were probably genealogical inventions, to establish a kinship between existent tribes. In similar fashion Greek poets invented a general ancestor, Hellen, for all the Greeks, or Hellenes, through his sons Aeolus and Dorus, and his grandsons Achaeus and Ion; these being the eponyms, or mythical forefathers, of Aeolians, Dorians, Acheans, and Ionians. Egyptian and Babylonian culture, myths, and laws made their impression upon the Hebrews, and reappear with local alterations in their sacred writings. There may well have been a complete or partial captivity in Egypt; there was undoubtedly the adoption of the Kenite deity Yahweh under Mount Sinai, whose fortunes

thereafter went up or down with those of his adopted worshipers. Some time in the second millennium B. C., these loosely knit tribes separately conquered footholds on the Canaanite hills, and began to mingle with the lowland Canaanite city life which they could not conquer. They worshiped the adopted god Yahweh, a god who stood for pastoral usages and brotherhood, and who opposed the worship of local Canaanite Baals sponsoring agriculture and city life. The mixture of blood produced a mixture of opinion over the standpoint of Yahweh; the great prophets, or preachers, were primarily from the hill-regions, and sought to confine Yahweh to pastoral customs. This conflict produced the Old Testament, as an extended pamphlet in favor of the older, less civilized aspect of Yahweh; compare "The Making of the Old Testament," in this same series.

Worship and Customs.—The date of the final editing of the Old Testament is so late (600-200 B. C.) that it is hardly a reliable picture of the earlier customs. Thus the portraits of wealthy Abraham and the other patriarchs are rather of great pastoral sheiks of the time of the later kings, than of the earlier tribal fathers. One important thing to keep in mind is that the Hebrew attitude was that the race was united by blood kinship; insistence upon this helped spread the late tradition (as in Joshua) that all of the Canaanites had been extirpated. The laws always made this distinction: thus the Hebrews were forbidden to eat tainted meat; but they could *give* it to the *gerim*, the "stranger that is within thy gates," who had been adopted into the tribe; and they could *sell* it to foreigners. As worshiped at first, Yahweh was simply one of the gods, fa-

vorable to the Hebrews, as Milcolm, Chemosh, Dagon, and other Baals, were to their peoples. Yahweh had a wife or consort, probably Asherah (Encyc. Brit., 11th Ed., XIII, 180a); the name of the tribe of Asher suggests the name of a male counterpart to the old Canaanite female deity. He had undoubtedly started as an ancestor god; each family still had its household gods, represented by images, called *teraphim*. We learn how Micah made a house for his *teraphim*, how Rachel stole her father's, and how David's wife used his in a ruse to deceive the messenger of Saul. The will of Yahweh was consulted by casting the Urim and Thummim, two sacred stone, before a metal image called an ephod; later priestly laws altered the ephod to a part of the High Priest's attire, with the Urim and Thummin as jewels upon it. Yahweh was held to have the attributes of a man, or super-man; he "walked in the garden in the cool of the day," he talked with men, he smelled the sweet savor of the sacrifice, he placed his hunter's bow (the rainbow) in the heaven, he revealed his back parts to Moses, and he walked the paths between the tents of the encampment at night.

The laws of the Hebrews are multitudinous and quaint; even the late date of their present form has not prevented certain queer old laws from appearing. The Hebrews were forbidden to round the corners of their hair, or mar the corners of their beards; a vineyard could not be sown with mixed seeds; a man could not plough with an ox and an ass together; a garment of woolen and linen together should not be worn. These laws may have been directed against practices of the Baal-worshipers in Canaan. Like the laws of the Hindus. the Hebrew statutes go into great detail upon hygienic

matters, as well as religious questions. Their morality required one treatment for clan-brothers, and another for outsiders. Thus Abraham lied—but to an Egyptian, an enemy; Jacob cheats — but he cheats Esau, father of the Edomites, who were Israel's foes. The rapid multiplication of the Hebrews in Egypt could hardly be accounted for even from the observation of Aristotle, that Egypt is so fertile that the women sometimes produced six or seven children at a birth: it is better to make ample allowance here for later exaggeration. In common with the Egyptian practice, found also in Australia, Africa, among the Aztecs and certain Amazon tribes, and elsewhere, the Hebrews practiced the rite of circumcision; the use of a flint knife points to the antiquity of custom.

The Conquest of Canaan, and the Judges.— The customs of primitive warfare appear from the first exploit in the Book of Judges. "Judah" and "Simeon his brother," both clearly denoting tribes and not individuals, conquered a Canaanite king named Adoni-Bezek, and cut off his thumbs and great toes. The chagrined king saw in this a punishment for his previous lopping off of the thumbs and great toes of seventy other kings. The Israelites successfully took the hill lands; but they could not capture the valley cities, with their chariots of iron. The episodes in Judges are connected with a framework in which it is stated that the Israelites served the Baalim, the local gods, and were punished for this, whereupon some warlike deliverer came. The original stories were of the warlike deliverers; it is a late conjecture of some priestly editor that the sufferings of the Israelites could only have come from back-sliding into Baal-worship, whereupon

he has inserted this frame, stating such lapses as facts. The statement that the Israelites intermarried in wholesale fashion with the Canaanites is also a late addition; in the whole Book of Judges there is only one specific reference to such a marriage, and that is of a long-distance wedding, in which the wife continued to dwell with her kinspeople, and not with her husband.

The Israelites were still a shepherd people; but a thin trickling of them had commenced to flow into the cities below. There is one attempt at political union between Israelites and Canaanites during this period, when Abimelek, son of Gideon, unites both races in worship of Baal-berith (the god or Baal of the covenant), with Shechem as his capital; but this lasts only a few years. There is constant strife between the two races until the end of the period, when the simple statement appears "And there was peace between Israel and the Amorites" (Amorites being another name for Canaanites). Some sort of treaty of concord had been patched up; and with this suggestion of peace, the unsettled age of the Judges ends.

One sidelight on the culture of the people, similar to the picture in the Odyssey of the princess Nausicaa washing her kingly father's clothes with bare feet in the brook, is given in the picture of the thirty sons of the Judge named Jair, "that rode on thirty ass colts, and they had thirty cities." If Israel once practiced human sacrifice, almost all the traces of it have been sponged out except the offer of Abraham to sacrifice Isaac, and the sacrifice of his daughter by Jephtha, the Judge who overcame the Ammonites. A symbolic trace of cannibalism, of course, appears in the Chris-

tian religion. The tribes did not even live at peace with each other; thus the men of Gilead made a wholesale slaughter of the tribesmen of Ephraim; and the rest of Israel attacked the tribe of Benjamin for mob mistreatment of a woman, and destroyed all but a weak remnant of them. "In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes," comes from the historian as the note, slightly apologetic, which closes the Book of Judges.

CHAPTER II

THE KINGDOMS

Saul's Kingdom in the Hills.—The Israelite monarchy was at first a highland organization, having no capital city, and standing apart from the Canaanites. Samuel, the last Judge, according to the priestly editor of the story, had argued strongly against a king, on the ground that the customs of a kingdom would weigh heavily on the people, in the shape of royal and noble confiscation of peasant land and of the probable enslavement of tribesmen. The later priestly bias against kings, after the destruction of the kingdom in 586 B. C., appears here. Nevertheless the tribesmen persisted, and Saul, a tall son of the same tribe of Benjamin that had been almost wiped out for its bloody fault, was picked by the sacred lot as king; he was notified of this when he came to consult Samuel about the loss of his father's asses. King Saul himself, in his zeal for the children of Israel and Judah, broke the peace treaty with the lowland Canaanites. This naturally delayed the union of the races.

His chief warfare, however, was with the Philistines. This power looked askance upon the prospect of an alliance of Israelites and Canaanites, and sought to hold them apart, while it destroyed the presumptuous Israelite kingdom. Great deeds of bravery were attributed to Jonathan, the king's son; and the slaying of one of the many giants that, according to the Old Testament stories, inhabited Palestine in those days, was attributed to a shepherd youth named David, who ultimately married one of the king's daughters. When the young

shepherd warrior fled from the king's wrath, he was joined in the cave of Adullam by "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented"—although the story says that there were only four hundred of these. From this it is clear that the customs of kingdom were already beginning to displease the Israelite shepherds. Perhaps because they had begun to turn against his exactions, at Saul's order one of his warriors, an Edomite, killed eighty-five of the priests, and destroyed in the priestly city of Nob "men and women, children and sucklings, and oxen, and asses, and sheep"—surely a bloody side-note upon the warlike habits of the time. A similar punishment is recorded of David's conquest of the Ammonite stronghold of Rabbah, where all, or at least those who were found under arms, were put under saws, and under harrows of iron, and under axes of iron, and made to pass through the brick kiln. The Christian Inquisition had good precedent for its ingenious tortures. David was at length forced to flee in exile to the protection of a Philistine king. The combined Philistine forces, at Gilboa, in Ephraim, won a bloody victory over Saul, resulting in the death of that king and three sons. In line with the policy of keeping the Israelites and Canaanites separate, the Philistines carried the royal Israelite bodies across the eastern end of the plain, and fastened them to the wall of the Canaanite city of Beth-shean, as a warning of the weakness of Israel, and of the fate of treaty-breakers. For two years Ish-baal (or Ish-bosheth), a son of Saul, ruled over the larger part of Israel, with David sovereign of southerly Judah. When he was slain, David was acclaimed king of all the tribes.

The Union of the Races Under David.—The Hebrew nation came into existence under the house of David, at the point of union between Israelites and Canaanites. The extension of the framework of the monarchy was the task of David, one of the shrewdest statesmen that history chronicles. With great boldness, David located his capital in one of the Canaanite walled cities, which had not been reduced by the Israelites at the time of the original invasion. This town was called Jebus or Jerusalem, and had remained a foreign city down to the time of David. The new king took this city, and occupied its fort, Zion, calling it "the City of David." Instead of exterminating the Canaanite inhabitants, after the manner of Saul, David spared the local population, and contracted state marriages with the leading families. In line with the same policy, he surrendered to the Canaanites of Gibeon a number of the grandsons of Saul for execution, as an atonement for Saul's perfidy in breaking the treaty with the Canaanites. We find Canaanites high in David's army, and learn that his census numbered both races. Great armies were organized, and commenced the conquest of the known world: for it was a moment when Egypt and Babylon were ailing, and the lion of Assyria had not yet wakened. The Philistines and Moabites were defeated; the great king of Syria, whose land reached to the Euphrates, was vanquished; and David, as was the custom, houghed or hamstrung the horses of nine hundred of the Syrian's chariots. The oriental story of David's adultery with Bathsheba had its punishment, and its glorious conclusion in the later birth of Solomon.

Some years later, the dissatisfaction of the shepherd people with the customs of the mon-

archy broke out in the great revolt led by Ahitophel and Absolom; it was less a family feud than a clever organization of the resentment against kingly usages general among the people. This son sought to establish his right to the throne by publicly taking ten of the secondary wives of David as his wives, as was the oriental custom. It was the *gibborim*, the hired professional soldiery or "strong men" under Beniah, that swung the balance in favor of the king, and against the popular leaders. The northern tribes split away after an adventurer named Sheba, who was at length killed. As David's reign neared its end, the struggle began afresh in the conflict over the succession. Two candidates appeared: Adonijah, brother of Absolom, supported by the Israelite party, specially the highland peasantry; by Joab, bloody leader of the peasant militia; and by the priest Abiathar, of the old Ephraimite village of Nob. His rival, Solomon, had the support of Beniah, commander of the standing army at the capital; of Zadok, priest of Jerusalem; of Nathan, the preacher of Jerusalem; and, no doubt, of the city class in general. Adonijah sought the throne by asking for Abishag, one of David's lesser wives; the possession of a dead king's harem symbolized succession to his power. Solomon put his rival to death; his victory over the peasantry was again due to the support of the *gibborim*, the hired standing army. Thus, under Ish-bosheth, Absolom, Sheba, and Adonijah, the stricter Yahweh adherents, the shepherd peasantry, were expressing armed dissatisfaction with the royal customs. The causes that later split the monarchy were at work from the very beginning of David's reign.

The Empire Under Solomon. — Under Solo-

mon, the national process went to its logical issue. The new monarch set up the administration of his kingdom in such Canaanite cities as Beth-shemesh, Taanach, Megiddo, Shaalbim, Hazor, Gezer, Beth-Shean, and others, in addition to Jerusalem. The kingdom under Solomon was not merely a loose confederacy of shepherds and farmers, as in the time of Saul; it embraced also merchants, artisans, bookkeepers, teachers, financiers; and entered with some abruptness into the circle of oriental civilizations. The racial distinction of the Canaanites became rapidly forgotten, as the tradition, encouraged by them for their own advantage, spread that these native inhabitants of Palestine had all been put to the sword by Joshua, and that all the Hebrews were full-blooded kinsmen. The better authorities indicate that Solomon made slaves of the Israelites as readily as of the Canaanites; in carrying out his imperial policies, he organized oppression. He consummated an alliance with the Pharaoh of Egypt, contracting a state marriage with one of the latter's daughters; and also an alliance with Hiram, King of Tyre, who furnished the materials for the silent erection of the proposed temple to Yahweh. With Phoenician sailors the king inaugurated trading voyages to Asia Minor, Arabia, Tarshish (probably in Spain), and Ophir, which may have been in East Africa, or the Far East. His realm extended from the Euphrates to the borders of Egypt. His imperial state is indicated by the fact that he married "seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines"; their influence may have contributed to the religious tolerance by which Israel officially came to regard Yahweh as the head of a court of lesser deities. Foreign enemies, Edom, Da-

mascus, began to trouble; even one of the king's oppressive taskmasters, Jeroboam, in the north, moved no doubt by ambition as well as by sympathy for the continuing peasant complaints, "lifted up his hands against the king." As the clouds gathered, the great ruler, world-renowned for his wisdom and his piety, died.

The protest of the Israelite side of the national ancestry broke out soon after the death of the king. In answer to the popular cry for kindlier customs, Rehoboam, the king's son and successor, flung back at the people the cocksure taunt, "My little finger is thicker than my father's loins. He made your yoke heavy, but I will add to your yoke; he chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." After this, the vast bulk of the nation withdrew from the house of David, in the sixth chronicled attempt, and set up the kingdom of Ephraim, or Israel.

The Judean Indictment.—Contrary to common belief, we have in the Old Testament nothing purporting to be a history of the kings that come after Solomon. There were such histories, "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel" and "The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah"; they are often referred to for an amplified treatment of reigns mentioned in Kings and Chronicles. But they are lost. More than this, we have nothing whatever written from the standpoint of the more important kingdom, Israel. The division was not a turning-point in the history of the people; it was a mere incident in the internal struggle for kindlier customs. A change of riders does not ease the tired horse. The northern kingdom, much the larger, had been the home of the last Judge, Samuel, and the first king, Saul, and the center of the claims of Ish-bosheth, Abso-

lom, Sheba, Adonijah and Jeroboam. The tiny principality on the south was of small political importance; detached and isolated among the rocky hills, it dropped almost below the historical horizon. Yet the Old Testament accounts, (Kings, which contains events down to 588 B. C., or a hundred and fifty years after Israel had been taken into captivity, and Chronicles, which contains events down to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, fifty years later), are written much later than these events, by Judean writers, already imbued with that fierce animosity against Israel which continued in the hatred of the Jews against the Samaritans, the inhabitants of the capital city of Israel.

Chronicles ignores the kings of Israel, except where they come into contact with the Judean sovereigns. Kings purports to give a brief sketch of their reigns; but of all the nineteen sovereigns of Israel, which included strong Jeroboam, the empire-rebuilder Omri, the powerful reformer Jehu, and the distinguished Jeroboam II, no one escapes the Judean moralist's condemnation, "he did evil in the sight of the Lord." Israel had fallen years before Kings was written; what more proof was needed that it had been entirely evil? So the editor reasoned. What was the evil that weighed so on Judean minds? It is stated as the offense of Jeroboam I, in establishing places of worship at Dan and Bethel; in setting calves of gold therein, "thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt"; in consecrating "priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of Levi"; and, of course, in the continuance of this worship under his successors. To corroborate this assumed offense, one of the same priestly school about this time inserted in Exodus the

story of another golden calf which came out of the fire when Aaron threw in the golden earrings of the wanderers, while Moses tarried on the crest of Sinai; a calf also hailed as "thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt." The translation uses the inappropriate plural in the Exodus account, a plural appropriate to the two calves set up by Jeroboam, but inept here. It is probable that this calf symbol was the accepted mark of Yahweh worship then; just as the fish symbol (from Greek I-CH-TH-U-S, fish, for the Greek words meaning "Jesus Christ, son of God, Savior") and the Lamb of God were used in Christian worship. Moreover, the northern tribes were the seat of the strictest Yahweh worship; all the probability is that this assumed offense was simply strict Yahwism.

The same late priestly historian admits that, of the eight "good" kings of Judah, six permitted the "high places" or groves of Asherah to remain, and the people to sacrifice there, contrary to the priestly idea of Yahweh's command; the reforms of the seventh of these, Hezekiah, are doubted by the critics, and may be an anticipatory repetition of reforms carried out by Josiah, the eighth "good" king. Yet these are all regarded, by the Judean commentator, as "good" in Yahweh's eyes. These eight "good" kings reigned 261 years; the twelve evil Judean kings reigned only 130 years; merely an indication that the priestly editor held that a long reign must have meant following Yahweh, and a brief reign following the Baals. The one exception in Kings is Manasseh, a "wicked" or Baal-worshiping Judean king who reigned 55 years. The adapter of Chronicles perverts this into an acceptable story: the evil Manasseh, in Chronicles, is car-

ried to a convenient Babylonian prison, where he repents, and returns to rule piously. This is the spirit in which these "historical" writings were compiled.

The Divided Kingdom. — Only a brief account can be given of the troubled period. Under Rehoboam, Judah's first king, the Egyptian pharaoh overcame Jerusalem and plundered the sacred temples. His successor, Abijah, is said by the Judean editor to have conquered Israel with a great slaughter. After Asa, who made an alliance with Syria, and Jehoshaphat, two weak good kings, Judah became entangled with Israel, then under the great dynasty of Omri. This conqueror is almost overlooked in the Judean story; but he reconquered Moab, and for a hundred years Assyrian inscriptions refer to Israel as the kingdom of Omri. Omri's son Ahab made alliances, political and theological, with the surrounding powers; his daughter Athaliah married the king of Judah, and reigned after her husband's death for six years over the smaller land. The Philistines and Arabians had just ravaged Judah; the Syrians now tried to starve Samaria, the great capital of Israel, into submission. After a period in which human flesh was eaten, Syria withdrew. Jehu, a stern and astute worshiper of Yahweh, seized this moment of weakness to take over the throne of Israel. He was the greatest reformer of all the kings, rivalling the later Josiah of Judah in his wholesale reforms. He slew the reigning kings of both lands, the wicked queen of Ahab, Jezebel, and arranged for the slaughter of the seventy sons of Ahab, the forty-two kinsmen of the king of Judah, and all the priests of Baal. The strict Jonadab, a Yahwist of the primitive Kenite descent, saw and approved of all this. Jehu committed no

offense, except continuing the worship instituted by Jereboam I; yet this damned the stern Yahwist in later Judean eyes.

The state of the kingdoms sank lower. In addition to the constant Syrian attacks, tribute was often paid to the rising power of Assyria. Four good kings succeeded Athaliah in Judah; the great Jeroboam II held the Israelite throne for forty-two years during part of this period. This warrior vanquished Syria, Ammon, Moab, and recovered the lands clear to the sea-coast. Yet again the Judean saw in him only "evil." After this mighty ruler, half a century of comparative anarchy succeeded. At last weakened Israel was taken captive by Assyria, and scattered and lost forever. The vanished "Ten Tribes" survived in part in later Samaria, and among the Jews of Babylon; legend has blown them to India, and even to America, as the ancestors of American Indians. Infirm Judah threw herself under the protection of Assyria; and, after the brief Yahwist reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah, declined to its role as a bone torn between the jaws of Egypt and Babylon. In 586 they were taken captive to Babylon, and the holy city was destroyed.

The Preachers, or Prophets.—It was during the reign of Ahab that the first great prophet, or preacher, of the Hebrews came forward with his Yahwist curse for the king's wickedness in connection with the seizure of a peasant's land. Elijah, Amos, Hosea, Micah, and the other stern insurgent preachers from the Palestinian highlands appeared one by one, demanding a return to the primitive shepherd customs approved by Yahweh, and a putting away of civilized ways, identified with the worship of the Baals. In the mood of their vituperative insurgency the historical writings were rewritten

repeatedly, until they assumed their present form of propaganda for a late conception of Yahweh worship. Opposed to this illegal insurgency was a group of royal prophets, who saw in Yahweh a civilized deity, and insisted that Baal-worship, or the attributing to Yahweh of Baal characteristics, would bring peace and victory to Israel. The event decided the conflict: Israel lost, Judah lost; what better proof could there be that Yahweh worship had been the true worship? The captivity and exile silenced the Baal voices, drawn from the Canaanite side of the Jewish ancestry, and from the Hebrews who had adopted Canaanite city customs; it silenced these voices forever. Yahweh, the shepherd god of brotherhood, would again redeem his people: this is the note of the preachers of the exile.

CHAPTER III

UNDER PERSIA, GREECE AND ROME

The End of the Exile.—The Babylonian governor, Gedaliah, ruled the province of Judah from Mizpah, a commanding eminence about five miles from the site of Jerusalem. A conspiracy led by remnants of the royal house caused his assassination, and indirectly caused the flight of many of the leading Judeans to Egypt. Then occurs a gap in the records. Many of the exiles accepted their lot and settled down in Babylonia; a number of these rose to prominence among this and other peoples, as the stories of Daniel and Esther indicate. In Palestine, the agriculturists and herdsmen left formed the staple population. Life began to move in Israel as in the roving days before there were kings.

Less than forty years after the destruction of Jerusalem, a new power appeared in the East: and Cyrus, the Persian, in 539 speedily conquered Babylon. He was at once recognized as the expected Jewish redeemer: "I have raised one up from the north; and he is come—from the rising of the sun one that calleth upon my name. And he shall come upon rulers as upon mortar, and as the potter treadeth clay. Cyrus is my shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure, even saying of Jerusalem, She shall be rebuilt; and of the temple Thy foundations shall be laid." So Isaiah has it. To the petty states, this meant only a change of masters; they now became a part of one of the largest empires of antiquity. Cyrus was at least more tolerant than his Babylonian predecessors had been. The Judean records tell of an attempt to re-

build the temple in 538 B. C., which failed when the Judeans incurred the hostility of the Samaritans by their rejection of Samaritan aid, on the ground that it did not come from true Jewish Yahweh worshipers. According to the account, in 520 B. C. the work was resumed, and completed four years later. There are discrepancies in the records, and historical scholarship is skeptical concerning the definiteness of this.

In any case, another period of depression soon followed; and in 445 Nehemiah, governor of the small region of Judah and Benjamin, in spite of outer and inner hostility, completed the task of rebuilding the walls and the temple of Jerusalem. The building of a rival temple on the Mount Gerizim, for worship by the Samaritans, further increased the antipathy between the two Semitic peoples. The half-mythical scribe Ezra suddenly appeared in the Temple in Jerusalem, and read daily for seven days the "book of the Law of Moses." The stricter reforming party won the day, and attempted to root out marriages with non-Jewish peoples. Dreams of political freedom gave way to hopes of religious independence; Israel became a church, claiming its foundation in the desert beneath Sinai a thousand years before. Instead of sacerdotal kings, we now have royal priests, anointed with oil, arrayed in kingly insignia, claiming the usual royal dues in addition to the customary rights of the priests. It is the hour of the High Priest and his court; the latter is the foundation of the Sanhedrin. It was this period which rewrote the first five books of the Old Testament in the form in which we have them; Yahweh worship became crystalized and incrusted with a comprehensive legalism.

The Greek Domination.—Beginning with the time of Alexander the Great, 332 B. C., for four centuries, or until the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. by the Romans, the Jews were under the control of Greek influences. There is little record covering the period from the death of Nehemiah, about 415, to the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes, 175 B. C.—210 years, or a period approximately as long as the interval between the death of Queen Elizabeth and the accession of Queen Victoria; a period a third again as long as the interval between the Boston Tea Party and today. The sketchy pages of Josephus, the great Jewish historian, are our main guide during this gap; and, if he had had access to any records, he would not have failed to use them. There is a legend of a visit of Alexander the Great to Jerusalem; it is hardly more. On the death of the great Hellene, Judah came into the possession of Laomedon, one of his generals. Upon this man's death, perhaps in 321, Ptolemy, King of Egypt, advanced upon Jerusalem, and assaulted it on the Sabbath. The pious Jews would not violate the holy day, even in self-defense; a large number of captives were taken away and settled, chiefly in Alexandria and Cyrene. In the wars between the successors of Alexander, the land was several times trampled upon. Twice it fell into the hands of Antigonus, twice Ptolemy regained it. After the decisive victory of Ipsus, in 301, the Egyptian held it.

The next year Simon the Just became High Priest—a pontiff on whom Jewish tradition dwells with peculiar attachment. The founding of the Syro-Grecian kingdom by Seleucus, with Antioch as its thriving capital, brought Judea into the unfortunate position of a weak

province between two striving rivals. Under the third Ptolemy, the High Priest Onias II neglected the payment of the customary tribute, and retribution was threatened on Jerusalem. The wit of his nephew Joseph saved the City of David; the latter became revenue collector, a position he held until the invasion of Antiochus the Great. The fourth Ptolemy defeated this king, and apparently, from a contact with their religious strictness in Jerusalem, in which the High Priest forbade his entrance into the sanctuary of the temple, took a lasting dislike to the race. Scopas, general of the next Ptolemy, garrisoned Jerusalem in his warfare against Syria, and ruled it with a stern hand.

The Hellenizing of Judea.—Internal troubles began to vex Judea, after the pressure of Scopas was removed by his defeat. The family of Joseph, the tax-collector, became powerful enough to compete with that of the High Priest. Joseph's youngest son, Hyrcanus, secured possession of his father's wealth; fratricidal strife ensued, in which two of the brothers of Hyrcanus were killed, and out of which Hyrcanus fled beyond the Jordan, and built a strong fortress, which he named Tyre. Here he ruled for seven years, in perpetual warfare with his wealthy neighbors; on the accession of the next Syrian king, he slew himself. The next trouble came from the attempt of King Selecus Philopator to seize the temple treasury. Heliodorus, the king's treasurer sent upon this mission, was attacked, according to the Jewish legend, by a horse with a terrible rider and by two young men, and only escaped with his life at the intervention of Onias the High Priest.

The next king, Antiochus IV, places Jesus, the brother of Onias, in the high priesthood.

Jesus, renamed with the Greek name Jason, secured the king's aid in his proposal to transform Jerusalem into a Greek city. Onias, renamed Menelaus, perhaps a brother to Jason, bought the office from the king, and supplanted Jason; to pay his promised bribe to the king, he purloined the golden vessels of the temple, and sold them at Tyre. He put to death the previous Onias, and provoked a riot against the dissatisfied inhabitants of Jerusalem. When he was tried for these offenses, he bought his freedom from the court. Antiochus himself came to Jerusalem, and pillaged the temple. It was made over to the worship of Zeus Olympius; the rival temple at Gerizim to that of Zeus Xenius. Sabbath observances were suppressed, and a definite attempt was made to stamp out Judaism. The worship of Yahweh was in a critical position; there was need for a champion for the old beliefs.

The Maccabees. — Successful in the chief cities, the attempt to remove this worship which the Greeks regarded as an annoying eccentricity in the Greek world met with unexpected resistance in the smaller localities. Now commences the most stirring chapter in Jewish history. According to the first Book of Maccabees, it was Matathias, of the coast town of Modin, father of five sons, Johanan, Simon, Judas, Eleazer, and Jonathan, who denounced the attempt, and slew a recreant Jew before the Hellenized altar. In any case, certain Jews fled into the wilderness and found a leader in Judas Maccabeus, the first of the five distinguished Asmonean or Hasmonean brothers. The origin of the name Maccabee is disputed; it probably came from the Aramaic word meaning "hammer." "Judas the Hammerer" then would be similar to the great

Frank Charles Martel, or Charles the Hammer, who fought with his back against the sunset at Tours.

The first decision, and a wise one, was to wage defensive warfare on the Sabbath, if need arose. The conflict commenced like the guerilla warfare of Saul and David against the Philistines. Soon the augmented rebels grew bolder; they defeated and slew Apollonius, commander of the Syrian garrison at Jerusalem, and Seron, commander of the army in Syria. When the main army of Antiochus, under Nicanor, marched against them, the wary Jewish leader crushed first the camp and then the army of the enemy in brief and brilliant engagements. The next year, 165 B. C., Lysias the regent was forced to withdraw from a siege of the stronghold of Judas. The cause of Yahweh began to be recognized as victor. The laws against the Jewish religion were withdrawn, and the temple restored to its ancient worship. The inhabitants of Joppa, by a cruel stratagem, drowned 200 Jews or Jewish families; Judas avenged them by burning the harbor and the shipping.

On the death of Antiochus, Demetrius, the lineal heir to the throne, escaped from Rome and got possession of Syria. Unable to defeat Judas on the field, he substituted craft. He raised up Alcimus, or Jacimus, who claimed descent from Aaron, to the high priesthood; and sent an army under his general Bacchides to install him in his office. Judas bowed to his legitimacy, as a member of the great priestly family. The first act of the new prelate was to put sixty of the Maccabean leaders treacherously to death. Judas took to the field again, and won a decisive victory over

Nicanor, general of Demetrius. He then concluded an alliance with the rising power of Rome. Before this treaty was made known, the heroic leader fell nobly at Elasa, in 161 B. C.

His brother Jonathan succeeded to the command, at the head of a band of fugitive outlaws. In 158 his power was recognized by Bacchides, and he began to rule as judge in Michmash. A revolution of an adventurer, Alexander Balas, for the throne of Syria, supported by Rome, placed Jonathan in the advantageous position of holding the balance of power, courted by both sides. The leader ultimately espoused the cause of Alexander, and became the first priest-king of the Asmonean line. Alexander was everywhere successful; the family fortunes of the Maccabees rose with him, and Simon, brother of Jonathan, was hailed as the second priest-king of the family.

John Hyrcanus.—Later developments threw John Hyrcanus, Simon's youngest son and successor, into conflict with Antiochus Sidetes. By the peace treaty he became an honorable vassal of Syria, ruling over a dismantled Jerusalem. On the death of Antiochus, Hyrcanus seized the opportunity of throwing off the foreign yoke, and proclaimed the independence of the Jewish kingdom. It maintained this freedom, under the Asmonean dynasty and the house of Herod, down to the final yielding to the Roman dominion. While the Jews in Egypt suffered various oppressions, Judea enjoyed profound peace. Samaria fell to its conquering arms, after an investment of a year; the city was razed, and made a pool of water. In the local conflict between the strict Pharisees and the more liberal Sadducees, John sided with

the latter, thereby retaining his double title of king and High Priest, which the Pharisees criticized. At his death his son Judas Aristobulus succeeded, openly using the title of king. He is said to have died after causing the death of his brother Antigonus. His brother and successor, Alexander Janneus, continued the rule of the Sadducean nobility; and, after a rule complicated by foreign entanglements, died, advising a return to the strict Pharisaic observances.

Alexandra, his able wife, became queen (78-69 B. C.); her son Hyrcanus held only the title of High Priest. At his mother's death, his more vigorous brother Aristobolus won the power, retiring Hyrcanus to private life. Antipater, father of Herod, a governor under Hyrcanus, allied the latter's cause with Arabia. In the deadlock, both sides appealed to the envoy of Rome sent by Pompey; and Aristobolus bought the decision. Out of further conflicts Pompey himself besieged Jerusalem, and the Jews became subject to Rome. On the victory of Julius Caesar over Pompey, Antipater shrewdly transferred his allegiance to the rising power; he was made procurator of the region, and Hyrcanus High Priest.

Herod the Great.—Herod, son of Antipater, after being convicted by the Sanhedrin for the justifiable execution of a robber chieftain, was given a Roman lieutenant-governorship. On the poisoning of his father, as a partisan of Cassius and Brutus he became joint king, and after a flight to Rome from the wrath of the Parthian invaders, was confirmed by the Roman Senate as king of Judea. Cassius and Brutus had fallen at Philippi; but Herod had at once altered his allegiance to the rising sun Antony. He married Mariamne, grandniece of Hyrcanus,

in part for political reasons, but mainly out of an obsessing love for her. Opposition met him in Jerusalem; he acted with vigor, putting to death forty-five rival chiefs, and all but two of the Sanhedrin. He caused the death by drowning of a young High Priest; he put to death his beloved wife, at the instigations of his mother and sister; he put to death his two sons by Mariamne, and his eldest son by Doris; he is said to have ordered the slaughter of the innocents at the time of the birth of Jesus of Nazareth; he died of a dreadful malady, planning a testamentary massacre of the chief citizens of Judea, to compel a universal mourning for his death from the reluctant people. During the course of his royal ups and down, he had children by ten wives, two of them nieces; it stands to his credit that he did rebuild the temple. But it was of him that the Emperor Augustus uttered the bitter sarcasm, that he had rather be one of Herod's swine than one of his sons.

CHAPTER IV

THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM

The Procurators, or Roman Governors.—The will of Herod had appointed the children of Malthace, a Samaritan, his sixth wife, as his successors. After laborious appeals to Augustus, the emperor approved of the will, and Archelaus, one of these sons, assumed the rule in Judea. During the interval, the Jewish people at the Passover had rioted bloodily against the oppressive Sabinus, procurator of Syria. The country was in a state of anarchy, with rival kings springing up in every corner; two thousand rebels were crucified in one punishment by Rome. Archelaus ruled for nine years, when he was summarily banished to Gaul, and Judea put under the control of the procurator Coponius. P. Sulpicius Quirinius, prefect of Syria, his superior, arrived to organize the province, commencing by taking a Roman census. The opposition to this step centered in Judas, called the Galilean, an eloquent rebel, who was soon destroyed. Out of the fragments of his dispersed party arose the extreme Pharisaic sect of Zealots, who were influential in bringing about the great revolt of 70 A. D.

After rapid changes in the governorship under Augustus, Tiberius altered the policy, naming only two procurators during his reign. The second of these was Pontius Pilate (26-36 A. D.) Antipas, another son of Herod, was tetrarch of Galilee and Peraea; he is noted for having caused, or consented to, the death of the preacher John the Baptist, who had denounced the tetrarch's marriage to his niece Herodias. The predecessor of Pilate was noted chiefly

for the rapid changes which he made in the high priesthood; the last of his appointees was Joseph Caiaphas. At this time many Jews, due to the Roman scandal caused by the proselyting of a wealthy matron Fulvia, and the mis-application of her gifts to the temple funds, were banished from Rome. Pilate rendered himself especially unpopular by taking up his residence in Jerusalem; he also, according to the New Testament account, sanctioned the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth. It is probable that during his rule, especially in Galilee, the rabbi or preacher later identified as the redeemer by Christians commenced his preaching, and ultimately was apprehended and put to death. Twice during this period Vitellius, the general of Tiberius, deposed High Priests.

The Troubled Years.—The accession of Caligula brought high honors to another member of the Herodian family, Agrippa, grandson of Herod by his favorite wife Mariamne. After many youthful vicissitudes, including jailing by Tiberius, Agrippa was raised by the new emperor to a post of tetrarch. During this time the Jews of Babylon had been despoiled of their treasures accumulated for temple purposes, and has been massacred. Caligula demanded that he be reverenced as a god throughout the Roman lands; this brought him into conflict with Jewish customs, especially in Alexandria, whose large Jewish quarter became the scene of dreadful mob violence. Claudius restored to these Jews the citizenship which had been taken away from them, and made Agrippa king over all of the territories of Herod the Great. Agrippa himself had previously secured from Caligula the countermanding of an order requiring the setting up of the emperor's statue in the temple at Jeru-

salem. On the death of the king, Agrippa, after a successful reign, Claudius was persuaded not to give the kingdom to the king's young son, but to revive the system of procuratorship.

Cuspius Fadus, the first of these procurators, shortly purged the troubled land of banditry. Ventidius Cumanus, the third, who sided with the Samaritans in a bloody dispute with the Jews, was banished by the emperor, due to the influence of Agrippa, son of Agrippa I. In spite of his influence, Claudius had at least once closed the synagogues and banished the Jews from Rome; this was caused, later Christian authorities state, because of some tumult caused by Jewish persecution of the Christians. Under the next procurator, Antonius Felix (52-60) the revolutionary movement, which had been simmering for some years, grew and spread. The High Priest was murdered in the temple by pilgrims who carried daggers under their cloaks; it was said that Felix had instigated the crime. The sect of Sicarii, or Assassins, flourished. Wizards and impostors persuaded certain Jewish multitudes to follow them into the desert, and an Egyptian Jew, claiming to be a prophet, led his thousands of followers to the Mount of Olives to see him make the walls of Jerusalem fall. Countless robbers were caught and crucified; Rome tried in her blundering bloody fashion to quiet the land. But this severity welded together the religious fanatics and the party that favored physical resistance to Rome, and induced many peaceful citizens to join with them. Agrippa II received a kingdom; but, although he had the oversight of the temple and the nomination of the High Priest, he was unable to check the growth of the Zealots.

The first outbreak of the war occurred in a

dispute in Caesarea, founded by Herod but inhabited largely by Greeks. Nero decided the dispute in favor of the Greeks and Syrians; the Jews left the city, taking the Books of the Law with them. The three procurators who succeeded Felix (60-66) in their several ways contributed to weld together the bulk of the Jewish nation with the more violent of the Jews of Caesarea. There was bloody rivalry between contestants for the high priesthood. At the Feast of the Tabernacles in 62, one Jesus prophecied the destruction of the city: all of the happenings thereafter seemed to point toward this. Florus, the third of these brief procurators, in 66 seized seventeen talents of the temple treasure. At this, the patience of the driven Jews was exhausted.

The revolutionaries openly insulted the governor, by publicly begging coppers to relieve his destitution. Stung by this, he returned from Caesarea with his soldiers and sacked the upper city, killing 630 persons—men, women, and children. He actually dared to scourge and crucify Jews who belonged to the Roman equestrian order. The soldiers drove the people, assembled to greet them outside the walls, within the city. Here the people stood at bay, and took up their determined stand on the temple hill. Florus, baffled, withdrew his troops; Agrippa marched his force in, with an emissary from the procurator. The rebels stood firm; they would not resume the daily sacrifices for the emperor. They announced that they were willing to submit to Rome; but not to Florus. It was a tumultuous time: Eleazer, head of the war faction in Jerusalem, disputed command of the party with Manahem, son of the martyred Judas the Galilean. Manahem had arrogantly assumed royal state, and

murdered the unpopular Ananias, a former High Priest; soon afterwards, his forces were dispersed, and he was cruelly put to death. After this internal strife Agrippa capitulated, and was allowed to march his troops out unhurt; the Romans, who surrendered on the same condition and laid down their arms, were massacred. One and only one of the Roman soldiers was spared; he had promised to become a Jew, even to receiving the circumcision. For Judea, goaded by Roman oppression and fired by her Zealots, had determined, insignificant in size as she was, to defy the tremendous power of Rome itself.

Preparations for the War. — Immediately after the massacre of the Roman soldiers, the non-Jewish citizens of Caesarea slaughtered the Jews who still remained there; and throughout Syria the Jews suffered—and effected—wholesale sanguinary reprisals. The Jews of Alexandria, after they had rebuffed the conciliatory efforts of the governor, Tiberius Alexander, himself by birth a Jew, were slaughtered without pity. At length the Prefect of Syria, Cestius Gallus, approached the center of the disturbance, located in Jerusalem, but retreated after burning down a suburb. As he withdrew, he was attacked by the Jews, routed, and fled to Antioch, leaving with his enemies his engines of war. A few of the leading Jews fled from Jerusalem, as from a sinking ship, to carry the news to the emperor. The rest of the pro-Roman citizens were persuaded or required to join the rebels: Judaism was united for war on a grand scale. It was a hopeless struggle: one little race against the world. If it had stayed united, it might have wrested some unexpected compromise out of the jangled Rome of a few years later. As it was, generals

were selected by the Sanhedrin from the more moderate aristocracy, who had tried to keep the peace, and still hoped for acceptable terms from Rome. Ananus the High Priest, the leader, remained in control of Jerusalem, with the real power in Eleazer's hands; the command of Galilee, where the first attack was expected, was entrusted to Josephus, the historian and chief authority for the events of the struggle.

Josephus at once set himself to make an army of the inhabitants of Galilee, and strengthen the strongholds. His organization of local government and his insistence upon law and order brought him into conflict with John of Giscala, a local leader of the Zealots. The mass of people, whom Josephus tried to conciliate, were roused against him; John sent assassins, and finally procured an order from Jerusalem for his recall. In spite of all this, by force of craft Josephus held his ground, and put down those who opposed his authority.

And then the empire spoke. Nero, perturbed at the daring revolt, appointed his most able and distinguished general, Vespasian, to crush the rebellion. Vespasian had been in disgrace, for not having sufficiently admired the voice and style of singing of the theatrical emperor; this was laid aside, in the hour of need. The general marched down from his winter quarters at Antioch, receiving the ignominious submission of Sepphoris on the way. Joined by his son Titus from Alexandria, he advanced into Galilee with three of the most celebrated of the Roman legions, the Vth, Xth, and XVth, and with other troops supplied by Agrippa and local petty kings. The army of Josephus fled before the formidable menace; Josephus, with a few stalwarts, took refuge in Tiberias, and

sent word to Jerusalem for relief from the command, or for an adequate army. Vespasian took Gabara, and put every male to the sword. Hearing that the Romans were about to besiege Jotapata, a strong fortress in the hills, Josephus entered it just before the road of approach was made passable for the Roman horse and foot. Courage and resourcefulness prolonged the desperate defense as long as it was possible; the resistance and counter-attacks were brave almost to the point of foolhardiness. After 47 days the place was surprised, stormed, and taken; Josephus, whose shrewd wiles had long delayed the assault, hid in a cave with forty companions. After drawing lots, they killed one another, to avoid falling into Roman hands, until only Josephus and perhaps another were left; these two surrendered to Rome. The wily prisoner had prophecied that the place would be taken on the forty-seventh day; and it was. He now prophecied that both of his conquerors would rule over all mankind: this forecast saved his life. Word of his death reached Jerusalem, and produced general mourning. By the end of 67 Vespasian had reduced all of Galilee, and the Zealot John of Giscala had fled. Agrippa, himself a Jew, celebrated the conquest in Caesarea Philippi with festivals lasting twenty days.

The Internal Conflicts.—Jerusalem, according to the ancient custom, threw open her gates in welcome to the fugitive Zealots. The result was wrenching civil war and famine. Ananus incited the people against these visiting robbers, who arrested, imprisoned, and murdered prominent citizens, accusing them of being friends of Rome, and who claimed the right of selecting the High Priest by lot. The Zealots took refuge in the temple, and called the fierce

Idumeans to their aid. Under cover of a wild storm they opened the city gates to their allies; then they murdered Ananus the High Priest, and cast his naked body to the dogs. In spite of the verdict of a formal tribunal called by them in his favor, they slaughtered Zacharias the son of Baruch in the midst of the temple. The Idumeans, sick of the bloody work, left at last, and the Zealot John of Giscala was left in command of the city, stripped and ravished by the dreadful internal bickerings.

Vespasian had been repeatedly urged to march against the weakening fortress; his wary forbearance was to let the dreadful feuds prepare the way of the war lord. At last he moved against the city; word came abruptly, as he started, that Nero was dead. The crafty old warrior, during the troubled year 68-69, while Galba, Otho, and Vitellius one by one tore at the imperial purple, held his army together, waiting for the moment to strike for the control of the heart of the Roman world. This respite might have saved Jerusalem, if new war had not broken out between the sly blood-letter John of Giscala and the Jewish leader Simon, son of Gioras, as fierce and cruel, though not as clever, as his opponent. The bloody men of Simon without, the perverted men of John within, warred bloodily against the city. Then Simon was let into the city, to complete its pillage; and Vespasian entered Rome, the imperial purple over his shoulder. One of his first acts was to send his son Titus to complete the conquest of harassed Palestine.

The Siege of Jerusalem, and the Fall.—The last winter of Jerusalem passed in ferocious civil contests. Eleazer of the Zealots fought from the inner court of the temple; John of

Giscala besieged the holy of holies itself; the fierce Simon harried both of these from the upper city; and Titus, the bitter Roman, tightened his ring of steel around the doomed place. Through all the bloodshed the ancient worship of Yahweh went on; pious citizens of Jerusalem and far parts walked over pavements slippery with human blood, to offer their humble sacrifice to the god of brotherhood. Often a stray blow killed them as they worshiped. Then Titus appeared, and for a brief breathing space the three ravening killers in the city made peace. It was the Passover season; Eleazer opened the inner courts for worship, and John of Giscala, with typical treachery, sent his armed men, with weapons hidden, to capture the holy of holies. Out of the bloodletting a peace was finally patched up with Eleazer.

Meanwhile, Titus laid waste the outworks of the city, and surrounded it with a human wall. The people were hemmed in to starve. The Roman commander battered in then the outer of the three city walls, against desperate opposition. Then the second wall was pounded through. Hunger drove many of the defenders to death or madness; and out of the kindness of his Roman heart Titus lined the walls daily with Hebrew victims freshly crucified by the Romans. Children, women, men, starved to death. As if to further weaken themselves, the fiercer defenders put to death the High Priest, his sons, and sixteen of the Sanhedrin. Dreadful as was the cruelty of the defenders, their bravery in resistance was not behind it. John the Zealot, realizing that the end was approaching, melted down the temple gold, and took the temple oil and wine for profane uses.

At last the inner wall was battered down. Its fall revealed an inside wall which John, with true military foresight, had had prepared. But this was hastily built, and at last the Romans took the city. Titus offered to spare the temple, if the defenders would fight outside; this offer was spurned. Against the orders of Titus, it was set on fire, and what had been one of the marvels of the empire was smoke against the stars, and scattering ashes. Then death on all sides, and the last fortress destroyed. John was banished to a perpetual Italian prison, and Simon was led away in the triumph of the great Titus, where he met scourging and an insulting death. So fell Jerusalem, the great city, suffering from the swords of her own children, and razed by the sledge-hammer of the vengeful Roman.

CHAPTER V

A RACE SCATTERED EAST AND WEST

"*Yet Once Again, O Zion*—".—Up to this time, the Jews had been largely one central group; henceforth we see them scattered to every portion of the globe that man has conquered. The destruction of the temple and its Sadducean priesthood, of the Zealots and Sicarii who had relied upon the arm of fleshly power, left the unchallenged supremacy in the hands of the strict Pharisees, just as the strict Yahwists had inherited it after the Babylonian exile. The temple was gone; but Israel still had the Law. The Jews of the dispersion had already learned to supplement the temple by the synagogue; Judaism, as a church, easily survived the destruction of its central sanctuary. The last three strongholds of the Zealots fell—especially brave Masada, where, to escape captivity, each man slew his wife and children; ten of the men, chosen by lot, slew the others; one of these chosen by lot slew the other nine, and then killed himself. Of such stuff was the Jewish spirit made.

The temple in Egypt had been destroyed shortly after the conflagration following the siege of Jerusalem. But under Johanan ben Zaccai, who had had himself conveyed out of Jerusalem in a coffin, and had received from the Romans the boon of permission to found a college at Jamnia, the Pharisees established a new Sanhedrin, and began the work which resulted in the Mischnah. This collection of "oral law," with the later supplementary Gemara, comprises the Talmud, the great rabbinical interpretation which, with the Old Testament, became the sacred writing of the Jews.

Under the Emperor Domitian, who succeeded Titus, the oppression of the Jews recommenced. Death or total confiscation of property was the penalty on proselytes to the religion. The insuppressive Jews in Egypt and then Cyprus rose again, in 114 and 117, and set up a king; under iron-fisted Hadrian this attempt was put down. Even more formidable was a new arising in Palestine. Under Bar-Cochab or Barcochebas ("son of a star") a revolt arose; the leader, whose original name was Simeon, was recognized by Rabbi Aqiba as the promised Messiah. At this time, Rabbinism had become the great characteristic of the present stage of Judaism. The great R. Aqiba was said to have been a descendant of Sisera, the general of Tyre slain by Deborah, through Sisera's Jewish wife; it is averred of him, that God revealed more to him, during the 120 years of his life, than he did to Moses. He saw in Bar-cochab the star that was to "arise out of Jacob," prophecied in the promise of Balaam. The more cautious R. Jochanan doubted; but Bar-cochab went ahead, made himself master of the ruins of Jerusalem, and for three and a half years held off the power of Rome. The temple was rebuilt, at least in part; distant Jews came to his aid, and many gentiles. But the generals of Hadrian at length drove the Jews from Jerusalem to Bether, in 135, and forbade their entering the City of David on pain of death. The Rabbis now altered Bar-cochab's name to Bar Coziba, "son of deceit"; and kindly Rome had the great R. Aqiba flayed alive and executed. These periodic resurrections of Jewish power are among the marvels of history.

The Patriarch of the West.—In spite of rigorous Roman efforts to destroy the integrity

and uniqueness of the race, less than sixty years after Bar-cochab we find two thriving establishments of Jews. One comprised the Jews in the Roman dominions, and was under a spiritual ruler at Tiberias, called the Patriarch of the West; the other included the Eastern Jews, under a temporal ruler styled the Prince of the Captivity. In the West, the school at Jamnia was reopened, and mild Antoninus Pius restored the banned rite of circumcision, limiting it to Jews by birth. The tenth flitting of the Sanhedrin, to use the Rabbinical phrase, brought it at this time to Tiberias; it remained here for several centuries. A sidelight on the general spread of Judaism is seen in the fact that, wherever the Christian apostle Paul traveled, he found a synagogue of his countrymen, usually with many rich and powerful worshipers. The oppressions, in Palestine, in Egypt, in Rome itself, seemed to have power only to produce a greater increase of the race. The seven-branched candlestick may still be seen inscribed on the walls of the dark catacombs of Rome. Marvelous tales are related of the first settlements of the Jews in Germany, France, and Spain: the last mentioned claimed descent from tradesmen sent there by Solomon, or placed there when Nebuchadnezzar conquered Spain! The Jews spread with the spread of Roman arms; partly as slaves, partly as free men seeking commercial prosperity, or a place to be free of oppression. The Mishnah has its section devoted to abstaining from worship, not of Christian powers, but of heathen gods, such as Rome's provinces knew.

The spread of Christianity itself kept alive the vigilance and zeal of the followers of the Patriarch of the West. The four great Rab-

binical weapons, the censure, the solemn Niddui or interdict, the terrific Cherem or civil death, the ultimate Shammata or excommunication, these meant thews and sinews in the arms of Israel yet. The Rabbis were in charge of education, as well as religion; every detail of daily life was subject to Rabbinical instruction. The power of the Patriarch of Tiberias was coextensive with the empire of Rome; and it was founded on a stronger basis, the service of the heart and mind.

Intrigues arose in the Sanhedrin; the intrigants were expelled. The great Patriarch Simon, son of Gamaliel, who claimed descent from Aaron, successfully sought to extend his rule over the head of the Babylonian community of Jews. His son, Jehuda, "The Holiest of the Holy," the most celebrated of the rabbinical sovereigns, next ascended the patriarchal throne; it was he who assembled the Mishnah. Many of the patriarchs in Palestine were on terms of intimate friendship with the Roman emperors; as late as Theodosius I (379-395) the internal affairs of the Jews were formally committed to the patriarchs. Under the second Theodosius (408-450) the patriarchate was finally abolished, after a reign of three and a half centuries. This marked the end of the downward swing which had commenced with the imperialization of the Christian religion under Constantine I in 312.

Under the later Christian emperors, the Jews were legally characterized as a lowly order of depraved beings; their community as a godless, dangerous sect; their religion a superstition, their assemblages for religious worship a blasphemy and a contagion. Yet, despite this obloquy, Judaism continued a lawful religion. Justinian (527-565) was the first emperor to

interfere directly in the religious institutions of the Jews. In 553 he interdicted the Talmud, recently completed, would not allow Jews to appear in court as witnesses against Christians, and proclaimed them absolutely ineligible for any honor whatsoever.

The Prince of the Captivity.—About the time of Simon, son of Gamaliel, and Jehuda, the Resh-Galutha, or Prince of the Captivity, claiming descent from the house of David, established in Babylonia his brilliant and powerful court, under Persian protection. The Palestinian Talmud had been completed in the fourth century; the better known and more influential Babylonian version was finished about 500. This very land which, a thousand years before, had been a bitter prison to Israel, now became their asylum of refuge, their second fatherland. Here, rather than in Palestine, was built the enduring edifice of rabbinism. The great rabbinic academy at Nehardea, the second Jerusalem, flourished for generations; that at Sura lasted until the eleventh century. Samuel of Nehardea formulated the principle which made it possible for Jews to live under alien laws: "the law of the government is law," was his famous dictum. In 259 the Palmyrene husband of the great Jewish queen Zenobia laid Nehardea waste for the time being; in its neighborhood rose the academy of Pumbedita, a new focus for the intellectual life of Israel in Babylonia. Out of the semi-annual Kallah assemblages grew their literary expression, the Talmud.

The Roman emperors had made Jerusalem a Christian city; Christian pilgrims thronged the ways which led to the Holy City, where the wood of the true cross began to disseminate its inexhaustible splinters through the Chris-

tian world. The theist Julian issued his memorable edict for the rebuilding of the temple on Mount Moriah, in his brief swing away from Christianity. The collapse of the edifice, probably from underground mines constructed during the great siege of 70, and the death of Julian, brought this movement to an end. Alexandria writhed in new massacres. The Samaritans grew less and less, until today only an enfeebled colony remains as a ghostly reminder of their intermittent power. But in Babylonia, the Jew thrived and prospered, and began to realize his new role, as the chief promoter of international commerce.

Under Islam.—If Judaism was at least tolerated under Christianity, its status was different under the rule of Mahomet and his successors. The principle of Islam, for all its claim of succession to the prophecies of Moses and Isha, or Jesus, was fundamentally intolerant. Where the mosque was erected, there was no place for church or synagogue. The Jews could not accept a Messiah of the sword, sprung from the loins of the bondwoman Hagar; and Islam retaliated with the sword. The caliph Omar, in the seventh century, promulgated a code which required Christian and Jew to wear a peculiar dress, and denied them the right to hold office or possess land. Intolerance for infidels is still a feature of Mahometan law. But Islam in practice was milder than Islam in theory; its laws were made to be broken.

On the whole, the medieval Jews lived under the crescent a fuller and freer life than was possible under the badge of the crucifixion. Mahometan Persia was the home of the Jewish gaonate, or religious headship of the two great academies. This remained politically under the control of the local Prince of the Captiv-

ity; but in religious matters it was recognized as arbiter throughout all Jewry. The control of the gaonate lasted for four and a half centuries, or down to the eleventh century, when the Jewish headquarters moved from Asia to Europe. As the Bagdad caliphate became more and more supreme in Islam, the gaonate grew in power. It was not until the Arabian conquest of Spain that the Jews of Europe began to rival the eastern culture in importance.

CHAPTER VI

THE DARK AGES

The Golden Age of Judaism.—The Caliph Harunal-Rashid had persecuted Jew and Christian alike; but by the tenth century, the Jew had received from Islam something more than persecution. He caught the contagion of poetry, philosophy, and science. It is in Spain that the new spirit most clearly manifested itself. Here literature and affairs, science and statescraft, poetry and medicine, grew to such fulness that they were often found in one and the same individual. The illustrious line here reached from Hasdai ibn Shaprut in the tenth century to Isaac Abrabanel in 1492, the date of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. Columbus was accompanied by at least one Jewish navigator; there is a belief that he himself was a Jew. Hebrew religious and secular poetry reached a high level. Ibn Gabirol and Halevi, from Spain, were the greatest among the medieval poets of the synagogue; Maimonides, the greatest Jew of the middle ages, whose writings deeply influenced Spinoza, was a Spaniard.

The Iron Age of Judaism.—In the East, the evil days commenced with the extinction of the Princes of the Captivity, and the dispersion of the Jewish community in 1036, which from that period onward became a suppressed part of the population. The Jewish communities in Palestine suffered a slower but more complete dissolution. Under Charlemagne the Jews, who had begun to settle in Gaul in the time of Caesar, were more than tolerated. They were allowed to hold land, and were encour-

aged to become—what their ubiquity qualified them to be—the merchant princes of Europe. The reign of Louis the Pious (814-840) was such a golden age for the Jews as they were not to enjoy again in northern Europe until the time of Mendelssohn.

And yet that dark institution called feudalism, which organized Europe into serfdom, held no place in its imposing social pyramid for the Jews. They were soon forbidden the practice of arms, and, more slowly, the cultivation of the soil, which rested at the base of the social pyramid. They could not be lords, they could not be serfs. The taking of interest, forbidden by the very Old Testament of Jews and Christians alike, with a penalty later construed to be the damnation of the soul of the interest-taker, removed Christians from gainful money-lending. The Jews, whose souls in Christian eyes were damned already, had no other recourse but this role, the forerunner of the commercial structure of today. As wealth grew in Hebrew hands, its owner was regarded as a valuable property in Christian eyes: he was granted away, he was named in marriage settlements, he was bequeathed, pawned, sold, stolen. Thus Philip the Fair bought of his brother Charles of Valois all the Jews in his dominions. By the very tenure of his rank, the knight was bound to hate and despise the Jew. Religious fanaticism was inseparable from chivalry; the bloody Christians interpreted their faith as a trumpet-call for vengeance against the murderers of the Jewish carpenter whom they had come to reverence as a god. Only the fact that the Jew was too vile in knightly eyes to profane with his blood the glittering blade served as a partial protection for the scattered sons of Abraham. This

was true throughout the darker outskirts of the Christian world; though, with few exceptions, the Popes preserved a more enlightened attitude.

Massacres and Expulsions.—The first mass outbreak during the Iron Age of oppression occurred in the enlightened Arabian kingdom of Grenada. The zeal of proselyting Jews kindled the flames, which burned fiercely against all of the race. Ferdinand the Great, a Christian king, unsuccessfully planned a massacre of the Jews. In 1096 massacres occurred in many cities of the Rhineland. The First Crusade witnessed a wholesale persecution of the followers of Judaism throughout Europe, and even in the captured Holy City. Germany witnessed the next persecution, with the great St. Bernard belatedly opposing the barbarities. France wiped off her national debt, owed to Jews, by slaughtering the creditors. St. Louis, the French king, sought to wipe the Talmud out of Jewish hearts, and imposed a dress of disgrace, the Rouelle, upon all the race. Legends sprang up of Jewish alliances with the hordes of Mongolian tartars troubling Europe; it hardly needed these to add to the detestation in which the followers of the humble Nazarene regarded his kinsmen.

The Council of Vienna, 1267, imposed the high-horned cap upon the Jew, as a further distinguishing badge. Languedoc saw cruelties, incredible to many, against the peaceful Semites. About this time the medieval legends of Jewish ritual murder of Christians, especially of children, spread broadcast; this belief accounted for the canonization of many legendary nonentities. Russia, long the most backward European country, had public trials upon this baseless charge as late as the present

century. Well-poisoning was another constant libel.

England was not ahead of the other countries in her treatment of the Jews, during these dark ages. Massacres and persecutions succeeded one another in dreary regularity. The animating spirit of these was in part fanatic religious zeal, in great part perpetual exactions by the prodigal nobility upon the Jews, the chief possessors of wealth, with cruel methods of enforcement. About 1286, England expelled the Jews from her realms, after seizing their whole property, except the small amount necessary to pay for their passage to some foreign land, perhaps equally inhospitable. France expelled them for the second time in 1394. The reconquest of Andalusia by the Christians toward the end of the fifteenth century, with the establishment of the Inquisition, introduced a spirit of intolerance in Spain that weighed no less against Christian independence of thought and speculation than against the existence of Moor and Jew in Spain, and both of these great races were driven out. It is from this that the ghetto period dates. In Spain, the Jews had participated in the general life; but in their disposal into Poland, Turkey, Italy, and France, they were barred within their ghettoes from the outside world. In 1420 all the Austrian Jews were thrown into prison.

Of course, Jewish blood could not be cast out from these lands; it was a part of the blood of the people. In Spain there is no question but that it flowed in the veins of officials high in the Inquisition, and upon the throne itself. As late as the close of the 18th century, when the King of Portugal proposed that all of Jewish

blood should be required to wear yellow caps, it is told of Pombal that he appeared in the Council with three yellow caps. The king demanded the meaning of the strange accoutrement. "One is for your majesty, one for the Grand Inquisitor, and one for myself." As late as 1680 the idot King Charles II of Spain presided over the public condemnation to death by burning of eighteen Jews.

In Other Lands.—Italian Christians, especially in Lombardy, were the first to design methods of banking planned to circumvent the Mosaic prohibition against the taking of interest; and these bankers suffered the exactions of the rulers almost equally with the Jews. Military force was in the hands of the nobility, and the hour had not yet come when the bankers, either as the nobility or above it, held control of the military force. During the Reformation, the German Jews were accused of setting many cities on fire—any excuse would serve for a massacre—and were mobbed to death for this imagined offense. These dark centuries were marked from time to time by sporadic appearances of Jews claiming to be the Messiah; Sabbathi Sevi, in 1666, openly proclaimed himself the Redeemer in the synagogue at Jerusalem. After a stormy career, in which he adopted the Moslem worship, he died of a colic in 1676. Great in a different sense from these pretenders—for so history has named them—was Baruch (or Benedict) Spinoza, the distinguished Dutch philosopher of Jewish birth, who was denounced, dreaded, and then widely read.

CHAPTER VII

THE JEWS TODAY

Period of Emancipation.—During the beginning of the 16th century, the papacy formally prescribed the ghetto for Jews; by the end of the century, the prospect of liberty began to dawn upon them. Holland, after the treaty of Utrecht, deliberately set its face against religious persecution. The excommunication of Spinoza by the Amsterdam Jews in 1656 was largely a defensive step. In England the movement was very noticeable. Under Cromwell the Jews were tacitly permitted to return. They soon controlled more of the foreign and colonial trade in London than all the other alien merchants in the city together. The momentum of their commercial enterprise and devotion to the interests of the empire proved irresistible. From the exchange to the city council chamber, thence to the aldermanic court and the mayoralty itself, and finally to the sending of Baron Lionel de Rothschild to knock at the unconverted House of Commons as parliamentary representative of the first city of the world, the Jews progressed. The 18th century showed the ghetto as a doomed institution. Judaism now witnessed the growth of an aristocracy of wealth, commensurate with its former aristocracy of learning. At this time they undertook the trade of peddling, and made their way into the city fairs throughout Europe during the 18th century.

In 1781 Austria cleared the way for the rehabilitation of the Jews. Handicraft, arts, science, and even agriculture were officially thrown open to the long despised race. They

were granted equal rights with Christian citizens, though without full citizenship.

The Mendelssohn Movement. — Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786), born in a ghetto, made his way at 14 to Berlin, and became a friend of the critic and dramatist Lessing. Mendelssohn's "Phaedo," or the immortality of the soul, brought the author into immediate fame. His translation of the Torah into German, with a commentary, originated the school of scientific study of Judaism. His pragmatic conception of the faith weakened the conception of certain subsequent minds in the absolute truth of Judaism; thus his own grandchildren (including the famous composer Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy), as well as the poet Heine and others, embraced Christianity. Liberals and conservatives divided the camp of Judaism; there is today a division into orthodox and liberal Jews. Jews came to the front in many branches of man's activity: Auerbach and Catulle Mendes in literature; Rubinstein, Halevy, Meyerbeer, and Joachim in music; Traube in medicine; Lazarus in psychology—these are a few among many.

The French Revolution, largely due to Mirabeau, marked another distinct forward step in the advancement of modern Jewry. In Austria the distinctive Jewish dress was abrogated by Joseph II (1780-1790), and the Jews were admitted to the public schools and to military service. Despite occasional lapses, these gains have continued. Poland became the seat of a sort of rabbinical papacy; Lublin and Cracow grew into great seats of Jewish learning. Russia and Roumania long continued the black spot on the European record. Fierce massacres, or pogroms, such as those in Nizhniy-Novgorod

in 1882 and Kishinev in 1903, constitute an indelible stain; yet this merely pointed to the fact that Russia recovered last from the blight of feudalism. Sporadic outbreaks of anti-Semitism still occur, as in the infamous Dreyfus case in France. In the United States today, the race has to contend against occasional discriminations on the part of reactionary college officials or officials in the military and naval service. In the enlightened parts of the world, the contest is really over. The United States can hardly discriminate against that race whose bankers financed the Revolution, whose Judah P. Benjamin was Secretary of the Treasury in the Confederate cabinet, and whose leading captains of industry today are often of this blood.

The Zionist Movement.—The desire of the Jew to return to his homeland may be in part a sentimental one; but it has gained greatly in recent years. A promise of some sort of restored Jewish Palestine under British protection was a part of treaty closing the World War. There are active Zionist organizations in all countries, and an effective world organization of the movement. Yet it is noteworthy that, of the more than fifteen million Jews in the world today, only 84,000 are in Palestine, or a little more than one-half of one per cent; while New York City alone has 1,643,000, or twenty times as many. There are almost four million in America, three and a half million in Poland, and three million in Russia in Europe. This is a significant nationalist movement, no matter its final outcome.

Jewish Achievements.—No account of the activity of the world's leaders for the last hundred years can fail to note the large part played by Jews in every line of human endeavor. The

artist Josef Israels, the critic Georg Brandes, the french stage idols Rachel and Sarah Bernhardt, the two Disraelis, one of them many times premier of England, indicate how varied has been their participation in world affairs. In English literature, Israel Zangwill, the dramatist Alfred Sutro, the exquisite novelist Leonard Merrick, the vigorous younger novelist Gilbert Cannan, are Jews. Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the philosophic founders of modern scientific socialism; Sigmund Freud, the brilliant originator of psychoanalysis; Albert Einstein, the great proponent of the relativity theory; Leon Trotzky, the soviet co-ruler of Russia with Nicolai Lenin; Henri Bergson, the philosopher of creative evolution — these are a few of the Jewish names whose epochal theories have directed the world's thinking for the last half century, and are still dominant.

In the United States, the roll of distinction covers every field. Adah Isaacs Menken and Emma Lazarus, among earlier poets; Franklin P. Adams, Arthur Guiterman, and Elias Lieberman among accomplished writers of light verse; Irving Berlin, who has set the mode for our popular music; Edna Ferber, Fannie Hurst, and Montague Glass, among popular writers of fiction—these are only the outstanding figures. Oscar Straus has been in the cabinet under Roosevelt, and Louis D. Brandeis now sits upon the Supreme Court of the United States. Charles P. Steinmetz, recently deceased, was more truly entitled to the name of the electrical wizard than Edison or any other. It is impossible to begin to chronicle the great philanthropists and masters of industry; in certain lines, such as the theatrical field in all its ramifications, and many branches of the clothing industry, the Jewish influence is pre

dominant. Many of the leading newspapers and periodicals have Jewish owners and publishers. Centered in New York City's immense Eastside has grown up a Yiddish culture, with a host of distinguished dramatists and literary artists using this modern variant of the old Hebrew speech. In English literature in America the greatest novel yet written is, in the eyes of this and many other critics, "The Rise of David Levinsky," by Abraham Cahan, a Russian immigrant who is now the editor of the Vorwarts.

A plebiscite taken in September, 1923, among its readers, by the Jewish Tribune, of New York City, listed the following as the twelve outstanding Jews of the world:

Albert Einstein, Germany, physicist.

Chaim Weismann, England, chemist; perfected T.N.T.

Israel Zangwill, England.

Louis Marshall, United States, lawyer.

Louis D. Brandeis, United States, Supreme Court Justice.

Lord Reading, England, jurist, Viceroy of India.

Nathan Straus, United States, philanthropist.

Georg Brandes, Denmark, literary critic.

Chaim N. Bialik, Russia, poet.

Stephen S. Wise, United States, liberal rabbi and publicist.

Henri Bergson, France, philosopher.

Arthur Schnitzler, Austria, playwright.

My own choice would be different; but the catholicity of this list shows how ubiquitously successful the Jewish race of today has become.

There is no truer scientific law than the law of action and reaction. As great as has been the oppression of the Jew, so great must his rise be. Whether returned to Zion, or with the world as his Zion; whether remaining aloof, or taking the lead in land after land, and line after line of social activity, this ancient seed of Asia is a significant part of the slowly coalescing brotherhood of man.